

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 5391

MILAN 0440 OF MARCH 22, 1978 IS REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO.
ACTION ADDEE IS ROME

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1993
TAGS: PINT IT
SUBJECT: DE CAROLIS ANALYSES POLITICAL EFFECTS OF MORO
KIDNAPPING

1. IN LUCID PRESENTATION BEFORE MILAN CONSULAR CORPS MONTHLY
LUNCHEON MAR 20, DEPUTY MASSIMO DE CAROLIS SAID MORO KIDNAPPING HAD
CHANGED ENTIRE ITALIAN POLITICAL EQUATION IN PCI FAVOR.

2. UNLIKE BAADER-MEINHOF AND OTHER TERRORISTS, EXPLAINED
DE CAROLIS, ITALY'S RED BRIGADES WERE PRODUCING PRECISE POLITICAL
EFFECT. THAT EFFECT WAS EVEN MORE NOTEWORTHY THAN THAT OF
FASCIST MURDER OF MATTEOTI IN 1920'S SINCE MATTEOTI'S DEATH-
WHILE HIGHLIGHTING EARLY FASCIST ATTACHMENT TO VIOLENCE-WAS
PROBABLY MISTAKE. CRIME INVOLVING MORO WAS NOT MISTAKE.

3. AS PRELUDE TO ILLUSTRATING KIDNAPPINGS RESULTS, DE CAROLIS
SKETCHED POLITICAL SITUATION THAT HAD PRECEDED.

4. SINCE 1973 PCI HAD PUBLICLY RENOUNCED REVOLUTION AND
ADOPTED STRATEGY OF ALLIANCE WITH DC AS ONLY WORKABLE WAY
TO GET INTO GOVERNMENT, SAYING CLEARLY HOWEVER THAT EVENTUAL
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AIM OF HEGEMONY OVER OTHER PARTIES STILL STOOD.

5. DC UNFORTUNATELY HAD HAD NO EQUALLY CLEAR STRATEGY
TO PROPOSE. PARTY COULD ONLY CONTINUE TO SAY TO COMMUNISTS.
ABSENCE OF STRATEGY MADE IT INEVITABLE, DE CAROLIS SAID
HE WARNED DC LEADERS, THAT SOONER OR LATER DC WOULD BE SAYING
YES.

6. LATE LAST YEAR PCI PROVOKED CRISIS THAT HAD LITTLE TO DO WITH DEFICIENCIES OF PROGRAM PREVIOUSLY AGREED TO BY SIX PARTIES BUT AROSE FROM PCI DETERMINATION TO GET INTO MAJORITY.

7. DC MOSTLY GAVE IN, USING FIGLEAF OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN PROGRAM MAJORITY ON ONE HAND AND GOVERNMENTAL OR POLITICAL MAJORITY ON OTHER. EFFORTS OF GROUP OF 100 TO HALT PROCESS ENDED IN DISINTEGRATION OF GROUP TO POINT WHERE ONLY 20 OR 30 REMAINED FAITHFUL.

8. NONETHELESS, THERE WERE LIMITS TO DC CONCESSIONS. TEN DAYS AGO, SAID CAROLIS, PARTY WAS HOLDING FIRM AGAINST

PROPOSAL THAT ALL FIVE PARTIES SHOULD SIGN NEW GOVERNMENT INTO BEING RATHER THAN JUST DC. LATTER, PARTLY BECAUSE OF NOMINATIONS OF NEW MINISTERS DIFFERING ONLY SLIGHTLY FROM OLD, APPEARED TO HAVE GIVEN IN AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE TO COMMUNISTS AND MORE OR LESS PRESERVED OLD POLITICAL STRUCTURE.

9. MORO KIDNAPPING HAD CHANGED ALL THAT INSTANTLY AND DRAMATICALLY. DE CAROLIS DESCRIBED SCENE IN PARLIAMENT ON DAY OF CRIME. BERLINGUER IMMEDIATELY CALLED FOR MEETING OF PARTYHEADS AND COMMUNISTS ASKED FOR GOVERNMENT TO BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY, DISPENSING WITH TRADITIONAL DEBATE SO THAT GOVT COULD GET ON WITH BUSINESS OF SAVING MORO.
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DE CAROLIS AND OTHERS HAD WANTED TO USE DEBATE TO REGISTER PROTESTS ABOUT NATURE OF COMPROMISE REACHED. BUT THEY SAW THAT,

IN PRESENT CLIMATE, TO DO SO WOULD HAVE BEEN POINTLESS IF NOT COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. GOVERNMENT PASSED WITH ONLY SOME THIRTY DISSENTING VOTES INCLUDING THOSE OF LIBERALS. PLI GESTURE, WHICH WOULD NORMALLY HAVE HAD MAINING AND GIVEN LIBERALS ROLE, PASSED UNNOTICED.

10. IN SPACE OF SEVERAL HOURS PARLIAMENT HAD BEEN SWEEPED INTO BACKGROUND AND ADJOURNED UNTIL APRIL 6 AS PARTIES MOVED FRONT AND CENTER TO DEAL WITH MORO ABDUCTION.

11. AND PARTY WHICH PREDOMINATED WAS TO MORO'S BUT PCI. IN PIAZZAS ALL OVER ITALY IT WAS COMMUNISTS AND UNIOS WHO MOBILIZED MOST OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CITIZENS PROTESTING RED BRIGADES CRIME. DC HAD NO CHOICE IN MOST CASES BUT TO JOIN IN MASS DEMONSTRATIONS ORCHESTRATED BY PCI. COMMUNISTS THUS HAD NOT ONLY SEEN TRIUMPH OF THEIR IDEA OF GRAND EMERGENCY COALITION BUT WERE ASSUMING LEADERSHIP OF IT ON THE GROUND WITH BREAKNECK SPEED.

12. IF TODAY'S POLITICAL BALANCE HAD CHANGED ABRUPTLY, SO HAD PROSPECTS FOR ONE YEAR. HENCE. A WEEK AGO ALL WERE AGREED THAT AT END OF YEAR THERE WOULD BE ELECTIONS TO SEE WHICH OF TWO BIG PARTIES WAS BETTER MAN. BUT HOW-IF THIS COLLABORATION CONTINUED AND DEEPENED-COULD DC TURN AND MOUNT SUCCESSFUL ELECTION CAMPAIGN AGAINST PARTY UPON WHICH IT HAD SO HEAVILY DEPENDED? IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER, SAID DE CAROLIS, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF UNEXPECTED MODERATE VICTORY IN FRANCE, FOR ITALY TOO TO HAVE GONE TO ELECTIONS BEFORE ALL THIS OCCURED.

13. WAS ALL LOST THEN? DE CAROLIS THOUGHT NOT, BUT SAID ONLY DETERMINED CHANGE OF HEART WITHIN EACH OF DEMOCRATIC PARTIES COULD SAVE DAY. THEY HAD TO REFUSE, NEXT TIME AROUND TO CONTINUE MAJORITY WITH ALL ABOARD. WITHIN DC, THAT CHANGE COULD
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HARDLY OCCUR WITH OLD LEADERSHIP STILL IN POWER. EVEN MORO-MOST INTELLIGENT, SUBTLE, AND DIGNIFIED OF OLD GUARD-WAS FOR POLICY TOWARD PCI THAT WOULD LEAD, HOWEVER SLOWLY, TOWARD EMASCULATION OF PARLIAMENT AND HEGEMONY OF PCI OVER DC AND OTHER PARTIES.

14. DID DE CAROLIS' AND MAZZOTTA'S GROUP OF 100 STILL HAVE ROLE? DE CAROLIS REPLIED THT SURVIVING HARD CORE OF 25-30 ACKNOWLEDGED IT COULD GET NOWHERE AT MOMENT BUT VOWED TO HANG TOGETHER AS NUCLEUS AROUND WHICH ANOTHER OFFENSIVE SHOULD BE MOUNTED WHEN OCCASION PRESENTED ITSELF.

15. AND WHAT ABOUT MORO? DE CAROLIS HOPED GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT GIVE IN TO EVENTUAL DEMANDS FOR RELEASE OF REF BRIGADE CRIMINALS IN EXCHANGE FOR HIS RELEASE. MORO HIMSELF WAS MAN OF GREAT COURAGE AND WOULD NOT WANT IT. HIS FAMILY AND POLITICAL ENTOURAGE WERE HOLDING UP WELL AND WOULD PROBABLY ALSO OPPOSE BARGAINING. AND DC AND OTHER LEADERS SEEMED PREPARED TO RESIST.

16. BUT WHATEVER HAPPENED TO MORO, HIS KIDNAPPING HAD DRASTICALLY CHANGED ITALIAN POLITICS, ACCELERATING DEMISE OF PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY-MINORITY SYSTEM, INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF PARTIES AS ONLY REAL DECISION-MAKING FORA, AND PUSHING PCI INTO POSITION OF DOMINANCE FROM WHICH DEMOCRATIC PARTIES WULD FIND IT MORE DIFFICULT THAN EVEN TO DISLODGE IT.

17. PRIVATELY, DE CAROLIS SAID HE THOUGHT BRIGATE ROSSE MIGHT WELL EVENTUALLY RELEASE MORO UNHARMED TO SHOW ITS POWER. IF HE DID NOT RETURN ALIVE, DE CAROLIS SURMISED THAT NADREOTTI WULD NOT TRY TO GAIN CONTROL OF DC, PREFERRING TO LEAD GOVERNMENT. SINCE FANFANI HAD NO CHANGE, THAT LEFT FORLANI OR ZACCAGNINI. AS FOR LATTER, DE CAROLIS SAID HE FEARED HE MIGHT GET THE JOB
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AS CAPTIVE OF GALLANI, BODROTO, GRANELLI AND OTHER DE CAROLIS
ENEMIES. FORLANI DID NOT HAVE A GOOD CHANCE, BUT DE CAROLIS HAD
A GREAT DISDAIN FOR HIS DO NOTHINGNESS.QUOTE FINA
UNQUOTE GARDNER

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